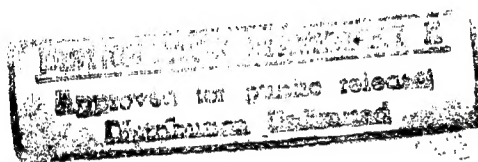


JPRS-ATC-93-006
21 May 1993



JPRS Report



East Asia

Southeast Asia
Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN
No 2, February 1993

19980113 098

East Asia

Southeast Asia

Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 2, Februaryy 1993

JPRS-ATC-93-006

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21 May 1993

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Strive To Implement the Resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Seventh Term)

Notice of the Fourth Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Seventh Term)

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 p 3

[Article published in FBIS-EAS-93-011, 19 Jan 93 p 42]

Editorial

Build a Strong Spiritual Foundation for the New System

933E0010A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 93 pp 4-6

[Editorial]

[Text] In the enthusiastic atmosphere of the first days of 1993, the party Central Committee held its fourth plenum in Hanoi.

Following up on previous sessions of the Central Committee (seventh term) to discuss and make decisions on important problems concerning the economy, national defense, security, foreign affairs, improving the state apparatus, and renovating and reorganizing the party, this session of the Central Committee concentrated on discussing and making decisions on a number of problems concerning education, culture and arts and letters, health, population and family planning, and youth work. The decisions made by the Central Committee at this session are very important. It has continued to concretize the renovation line put forth at the sixth and seventh congresses and created a system of ideas and harmonious solutions for all-round renovation in our country. It has satisfied the immediate pressing requirements and made preparations for the people, particularly for our country's young generation, to step into the 21st Century, a century that will be filled with serious challenges but that will also present many great opportunities for our country.

This session was particularly important in view of the fact that this was the first time that the Central Committee held a plenum to discuss social policies and the cultural and spiritual life of the people. The people look forward to and have great hopes for the plenum's decisions.

So that the resolutions of the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee can quickly be implemented in daily life, the party committee echelons, state organizations, and economic and social organizations must thoroughly understand the basic ideas mentioned by the Central Committee.

1. The foremost basic idea that must be thoroughly understood is the idea concerning the "human factor, the

human source of strength, and the happiness of man" in building and defending the country. Our party has affirmed many times that people are the most important asset and that material wealth and spiritual values are created by the people. The people are both the motive force of the revolution and the target of the revolution. Concern for the happiness of the people is the lofty struggle target and central task of the party and state. This manifests the wonderful nature of our system. During the past several decades, we have done many things to try to hit this target. However, the achievements have fallen far short of the development requirements of the country and the aspirations of the people. Today, the needs of the people are much more diverse than in the past. Renovating the country requires that the people have a high level of intellectual development, that they be physically vigorous and spiritually rich, that they be dynamic and flexible in production and work, that they have the ability to compete with the other countries in the region and in the world, and that they respond to each other in a warm and friendly way based on national cultural traditions. If we are to have such people, we must give attention to educating, training, and guiding them in building families and give attention to their standard of living and health.

We must start from a spirit of deep humanity in order to formulate plans to look after, strengthen, and exploit the human factor in order to develop people in all respects, build a just, kind, and civilized society, establish really wonderful and progressive relationships between people, and build a strong spiritual foundation for the new system.

2. The second fundamental concept that must be understood is that we cannot wait until the economy is highly developed and the standard of living has clearly improved before trying to solve the social problems and develop education, culture, and public health. These things must be carried on simultaneously in the process of developing the economy. Naturally, to develop these sectors and give better attention to the well-being and varied needs of the people, the basic thing is economic development, particularly given the fact that our country is still very poor. Avoiding economic development and posing excessively high requirements for the cultural and social sectors is incorrect. But it would also be a mistake to give attention only to developing the economy, not attaching any importance to building and expanding education, culture, public health, and public welfare, and allowing these weak and inferior sectors to have a bad effect on strengthening and exploiting the human factor and limiting the motive force for promoting economic development.

The correct viewpoint of our party is to strive to develop the economy and give attention to solving the social problems and achieving balance and harmony between economic and social aspects. The Strategy for Economic and Social Stabilization and Development to the Year 2000 clearly states that "economic growth

must be closely linked to social progress and fairness, cultural development, and the protection of the environment." This basic viewpoint of the party is in close accord with the progressive viewpoint of the modern world. Today, the development program of the United Nations measures the social progress of a country not just by the per capita national income but also by other criteria such as improvement in the people's standard of culture, educational and health standards, and longevity. By thoroughly understanding and correctly implementing these viewpoints of the party, we will be able to hit the target of giving attention to the happiness of the Vietnamese people today, preparing the essential conditions for the younger generation to step into the future, and, at the same time, creating the human aspects for developing the economy and enabling our country's economy to develop in a wholesome way based on socialist guidelines.

3. Another important concept that must be understood thoroughly is that of socializing educational, public health, cultural, and social activities. In every country, education, public health, and the development of culture and arts and letters are always very important tasks that require the use of great intelligence and much energy, wealth, and time. This is not the task of one person, one sector, or one locality. Rather, this is the common task of every person, every family, and all of society. Applying the concept of socialization, we must motivate all of society and each family to invest in the development of people, from behavior and intelligence to physical constitution and occupations. At the same time, the state must allot a suitable amount of budget funds for investment in these important activities.

Thoroughly understanding the concept of socialization means correctly applying the motto "the state and people working together" in order to build the material base, train cadres, and nurture the cultural and occupational activities. The tendency to rely on allocations from the state budget instead of exploiting the strength and potential of the people must be overcome. Our people have a tradition of learning and being prepared to withstand difficulties so that their children can learn and mature. Our people have much traditional experience in maintaining health and oppose those things, such as liquor, drugs, and prostitution, that pose a danger to health and to good morals and good customs. The realities of our country and the experiences of many countries show that if we do not rely on the people and vary the forms to enable the people to make contributions and instead simply rely on the budget, even demanding more budget funds if something is to be done or done well, not only today, when the budget is tight, but even in the future, when the country's economy has expanded and the budget is bigger, we will not be able to satisfy all the complex needs in developing education, culture, and public health or solve the other social problems. On the other hand, we must also guard against the tendency to depend on the the people and to try and get the people to contribute too much without basing this on the capabilities and psychology of the masses.

Thoroughly understanding the concept of socialization also means that we must stop giving a blank check to the functional sectors. We must organize and assemble the forces and overcome the tendency to rely on society and on higher echelons instead of increasing the responsibility of the localities and administrative sectors.

Along with studying and thoroughly understanding the basic viewpoints of the party, the implementation of the resolutions must be organized well at each echelon, in each sector and locality, and at each base in order to bring about a real change and achieve concrete results in each sphere. This is the only way solidify the confidence of the people and strongly promote the revolutionary action movement throughout all of society. The party committee echelons must make creative use of the contents of the resolutions of the Central Committee, look for practical measures, and give attention to clearly dividing the work and responsibilities and coordinating synchronized control in order to generate greater strength and achieve better results. The functional and professional sectors such as education, public health, population and family planning, culture, and arts must quickly revise the inappropriate policies and regulations and promulgate policies and regulations that are in accord with the viewpoints and contents of the Central Committee resolutions. At the same time, each sector must formulate a concrete action program and formulate major plans at the macrocosmic level, such as plans to eliminate illiteracy and eliminate malaria and goiter among the tribesmen, provide medical treatment for the poor, eliminate pornographic videos and books, and reorganize the publishing system and the bases engaged in artistic activities throughout the country. The localities must be guided in formulating and implementing suitable programs and plans.

The other ministries and sectors in the state management system and the economic and social organizations must have programs to cooperate with and "engage in joint operations" with the functional sectors. For example, the finance and banking sector must renovate the allocation of budget funds and the management of the budget for the educational, cultural, and social activities so that correct use is made of the budget funds, so that the money is not wasted, and so that money is saved and made use of effectively. At the same time, the sectors and localities must be guided in mobilizing and using investment capital from among the economic and social organizations and people in order to actively aid the state budget without raising taxes. The fatherland front and mass organizations must implement practical measures to spread propaganda and mobilize the various strata of people to actively participate in contributing capital and implementing the target programs and educational plans and exploit the human factor to make the people prosperous and the country strong.

The wards and districts and the subwards and villages are the places where the educational, cultural, public health, and social activities are taking place vigorously

every day. The people's committees are directly responsible for managing and coordinating the activities of the functional organizations and mass organizations in formulating work programs and organizing their implementation. The party committee echelons must directly lead and control things and assign enough cadres for the key jobs. Each party member must set an example in carrying out the resolutions of the party and give attention to looking after the people, training the people, implementing the national population program, and educating their own children and the children and youths in their locality. Experience has shown that if the party committee echelons and authorities do not really "extend a hand" and if the party members do not set an example in "taking part," no matter how good the resolutions are, it will be impossible to put them into practice.

We cannot subjectively slight the difficulties and challenges in 1993. But given the new economic and social situation that our people have been and are creating, we have a basis for believing that we can successfully hit the lofty humanitarian targets concerning building people, looking after the happiness of the people, and strengthening and exploiting the human factor as the resolutions of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee have pointed out, directly contribute to stabilizing the political, economic, and social situation, gradually satisfy the needs and aspirations of the people, and move the country quickly along the renovation path.

Care for, Strengthen, and Exploit the Human Factor To Hit the Target of Having a Prosperous Population, a Strong Country, and a Civilized Society

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 7-15

[Article by Do Muoi; published in FBIS-EAS-93-012, 21 Jan 93 pp 64-73]

Improve and Develop Culture in Order To Develop a Strong and Stable Economy and Society

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 16-19

[Article by Nguyen Khanh; not translated]

Strive To Bring About a Basic Change in Education

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 20-23

[Article by Tran Hong Quan; not translated]

Population and Jobs—What Is the Correct Explanation?

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 24-26

[Article by Nguyen Thi Than; not translated]

The 63d Anniversary of the Founding of the Vietnam Communist Party

General Secretary Do Muoi Visits the Editorial Staff of TAP CHI CONG SAN

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 p 27

[Article not translated]

The Vietnam Communist Party Has the Intelligence and Strength To Weather the Historical 'Low Points'

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 28-30

[Article by Trieu Vu; not translated]

Research-Exchange of Opinions

When Did Ho Chi Minh Conceive of the Idea of National Salvation?

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 31-33

[Article by Duc Vuong; not translated]

Did Nguyen Ai Quoc Attend the October 1930 Plenum of the Central Committee?

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 34-37

[Article by Tran Giang; not translated]

Methodology Concerning Cultural and Developmental Problems

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 38-41

[Article by Tran Van Giau; not translated]

Diversifying and Varying Foreign Economic Relations

933E0010B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 93 pp 42-44

[Article by Associate Professor Nguyen The Uan, M.A. in economics]

[Text] The basic theme of our country's foreign economic policy in the 1990s as affirmed at the seventh party congress is to "diversify and vary economic relations with all countries and organize our economy based on the principle of respect for independence and sovereignty, fairness, and mutual profit. We must solidify and strengthen our position on familiar markets and with traditional clients, actively penetrate and create a position in new markets, and develop new relationships."

[Footnote 1] ["Strategy for Economic and Social Stabilization and Development to the Year 2000," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, p 31]

As everyone knows, our country began building socialism from a very low starting point, and today Vietnam is still a poor and underdeveloped country. Even though we have been through three five-year economic development plans (1976-1990), our country's material and technical base is still weak and seriously out of balance. In particular, our infrastructure is backward, and it is declining rapidly, which means that we must make huge investments to improve and rebuild things. The sixth and seventh party congresses put forth important policies and measures aimed at basically eliminating the bureaucratic centralism management mechanism, promoting production, strengthening exports, satisfying import needs, and overcoming the difficulties of the economy. However, to date, our country's economy is still in a state of crisis. Production, particularly state enterprise production, is still suffering many difficulties. Many units are operating at a loss or achieving poor results. There is still a serious budget deficit. Our international balance of payments is still seriously out of balance. Our overage debts and debts now due are increasing constantly, but our export capabilities in order to pay the debts are very limited. Thus, it will be very difficult for us to borrow additional money. Foreign customers in general are still conducting surveys and are cautious about investing.

The state's economic and social management mechanism has changed greatly in recent years. But because of failing to formulate a clear viewpoint concerning a socialist economy with its special laws, the above changes have often been haphazard and arbitrary, aimed mainly at solving the immediate problems in a passive manner. Thus, we have failed to create a united and stable motive force in mobilizing and exploiting the country's great potential.

Objectively, the profound and all-round crisis in the former Soviet Union and East European countries has shattered the socialist system in the world. The countries in the world striving for national liberation and waging peaceful democratic movements have lost a strong and trustworthy base of support. Making use of this situation, the imperialist forces are looking for crude ways to interfere in the internal affairs of many countries with the aim of changing the order and principles in international relationships.

The unexpected change in the above balance of force has had a great effect on international markets and trade. With overwhelming economic strength (accounting for approximately 80 percent of the gross domestic product of the world and 82 percent of the foreign trade value of the countries in the world) and a per capita national income eight times that of the developing countries, the developed industrial countries control many aspects on international markets. With their expansionist policy,

the imperialist forces, led by the United States, frequently use economic encirclement and embargoes to "retaliate" against or "punish" the weak countries.

In this situation, international trade has new special characteristics:

The competition to expand by the three large international centers in the world, that is, the United States, the EEC, and Japan (in 1988, the three centers accounted for more than 70 percent of the world GDP [Gross Domestic Product] and approximately 64 percent of world exports) has become the principal factor controlling international economic relationships.

The decline of the socialist system has resulted in East-West relations changing from one of confrontation between two systems to a multipolar, multidirectional state. The countries that made up the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are opening their doors to trade with the capitalist countries and competing for large amounts of investment capital from those countries.

In the Asia-Pacific zone, in the 1970s and 1980s a number of countries implemented an open-door policy, and they have attracted much investment capital from Japan, the United States, and Western Europe in order to build and modernize their economies. Now, they have the conditions necessary to advance rapidly, participate more and more in international economic relationships, and create a very vigorous market zone.

In other zones, particularly the Middle and Near East and Africa, the constant regional wars and political changes are followed by crude interference by the imperialist countries, which keeps the situation there very tense. The economic and trade situation in these zones is very difficult and complex.

In such subjective and objective conditions, diversifying and varying foreign economic relations is very important. However, expanding foreign economic relations must be aimed at supporting the economic development strategy, gradually renovating the production structure, promoting industrialization, and enabling our country's economy to grow rapidly. At the same time, diversifying and varying foreign economic relations must be carried on based on the principle of respecting independence, sovereignty, territorial borders, fairness, and mutual profit, protecting and developing the economy, natural resources, environment, and national security, and maintaining and exploiting the wonderful traditions and characteristics of the national culture. [Footnote 2] [See "Notice of the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee (Seventh Term)," TAP CHI CONG SAN, July 1992, p 3]

In general, actually implementing the above principles is very difficult. Only the state, based on an all-round viewpoint, can fully comprehend the mutual domestic-foreign relationships. The foreign trade organizations must place national interests above everything else,

because besides being commercial subjects, they are also collectives with an obligation to defend the country.

In order to carry out the task of diversifying and varying foreign economic relations, the following measures must be implemented:

1. The potential and advantages of the country must be exploited, and the economy must gradually be stabilized and developed to form a basis for foreign economic relations. This is a basic and very urgent measure, because without economic strength, it will not be possible to actively expand trade relations with the outside, implement the principles of independence, self-reliance, fairness, and mutual profit, or compete with competitors on international markets.

2. Export capabilities must be increased quickly in terms of both quantity and quality. Exports during the first nine months of 1992 rose 17.5 percent as compared with the first nine months of 1991. A number of types of export goods accounted for the bulk of this. For example, exports of crude oil increased 60 percent, rice increased 2.13 times, tin increased 58 percent, coal increased 35 percent, rubber increased 21 percent, and coffee increased 17 percent. In the foreign economy, unless exports increase rapidly, it will not be possible to satisfy the import needs and pay the overage debts and debts now due.

But the question is how to increase exports rapidly. In my view, to do this, the export structure must be improved and made more rational in order to make maximum use of the country's export capabilities and quickly adjust to the development tendencies of the world. Today, our country's export structure is still quite backward as compared with the world. Policies must be implemented to quickly increase the percentage of processed industrial goods in the export structure. Above all, the production and export of light industrial goods and processed agricultural products must be increased greatly. In order to do this, a policy on investment (both domestic and foreign) must be formulated in order to renovate the equipment, modernize technology, and ensure that we can produce high-quality products at low cost and that we can compete with the world.

Along with gradually increasing the proportion of industrial goods for export, we must also promote various types of services such as tourist services, sea and air transport services, ship repair services, storehouses for goods being transported, labor export services, currency trading services, scientific and technical and training exchanges, and so on. We have great potential for the above types of services, and world needs for such services are increasing constantly. Policies must be implemented to attract more and more economic elements to participate directly in exports. Creating favorable conditions for expanding exports is now a strategic measure.

3. There must be an "effective" import policy, meaning that imports must satisfy above all the requirements of

renovating technology, promoting production, generating added value, and quickly creating sources of export goods. In our country's present situation, we cannot wait for "exports before importing goods." Instead, we must boldly use imports to promote exports. In reality, we are doing this. Imports will not only enable us to promote production and contribute to adjusting circulation and distribution but also help the country quickly adjust to the development standards of the world. Based on this, imports must be viewed as a direct and essential production factor. On the other hand, it should be noted that in an age when science and technology are developing rapidly, if we do not import machinery, equipment, and advanced technology, we will suffer the results of intangible decline in geometric progression.

Controlling imports has become one of the problems that is receiving much attention today. This is because if imports are not controlled well through the policies, measures, and close control of the state, foreign currency, which is very difficult to obtain, will not be used in the right place, for the right things, or at the right time. That will create serious waste for the country.

4. Our market policy must be in accord with the present international situation. In the past, our foreign trade relied mainly on the (former) Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. At times, this market share in our export value reached 70 percent. But today, the international socialist markets have been shattered. This change poses a very urgent problem for us. That is, we must build a foreign market structure for the 1990s. This means:

We must solidify and strengthen our existing position on familiar markets and with traditional customers. Even though we are now encountering difficulties on familiar markets and with traditional customers, we must continue to maintain a close relationship, because if we lose these familiar markets and traditional customers, exports will be seriously affected.

We must actively expand and create a correct position on new markets. Now that the former Soviet Union and East European countries are experiencing difficulties, we must actively seek new markets. This is an essential and objective requirement. In order to quickly expand foreign trade, we must expand trade relations with all countries. In this, expanding economic and trade relations with nearby markets is essential. But to advance quickly, we must also strive to reach out to markets with great potential such as western and northern Europe, Japan, and North America in order to have access to sources of capital and technology at the source.

We must participate more in international accords and agreements related to the economy and commerce. We must enable economists, trade specialists, scientists, and technical specialists to adjust quickly to the world. Domestic economic organizations must be encouraged to expand their operating networks abroad. We cannot

passively wait for customers. Naturally, everything must be carried out in accord with profit-and-loss accounting.

Broad association with foreign markets will enable us to get to know the world, renovate our thinking on foreign trade, gain a deeper understanding of the market mechanism, and choose opportunities to do a better job. In recent years, we have made progress on this front. But because of the need to advance rapidly, we must promote integration with foreign markets even more boldly. Through integration, we will be able to create a rank of economists, trade specialists, and commercial cadres with knowledge and experience concerning economic activities based on a market mechanism. On the other hand, the more we know about the outside world, the better equipped we will be to deal with changes on international markets and ensure that our domestic economy grows in a stable and effective way.

A Few Thoughts on Distribution in Socialism

00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 2, Feb 93 pp 45-46

[Article by Hung Nghiem; not translated]

Practice and Experience

Hanoi Begins To Renovate and Reorganize the Party Bases

933E0010C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 93 pp 47-50

[Article by Vu Phong]

[Text] Implementing the resolution of the third plenum of the Central Committee, the Hanoi party organization has formulated eight specific action programs, one of which is to renovate and reorganize the party bases. After carrying on things for six months at 47 primary level party organizations selected to serve as test sites, the Hanoi party organization has twice drawn lessons at the municipal level and exchanged ideas and drawn lessons many times at the district, village, and subward levels and at agencies, schools, and enterprises. With the motto of not rushing, remaining calm, and being effective, party renovation and reorganization in Hanoi is making steady progress and has begun to offer persuasive explanations.

I. In renovating and reorganizing the party this time, why has Hanoi chosen party bases as the key points?

Drawing on the lessons learned in previous party building campaigns, the Hanoi party organization feels that in those campaigns, Hanoi did not define the targets clearly or choose appropriate methods. Thus, every time party building is mentioned, the masses put little faith in this, party members become worried because they must "rub" and "wash," and the party committee echelons have to hold meetings and spend a lot of time without really achieving anything. The Hanoi party organization

thinks that the resolution of the third plenum of the Central Committee is a resolution of action. Thus, the way to gain a thorough understanding of this is to implement concrete action programs instead of just talking in generalities. If party renovation and reorganization is defined in general terms, it's very likely that we will fall into the same situation as before.

As of the beginning of 1992, the Hanoi municipal party organization had 1,462 party bases with 8,410 party chapters and 134,517 party members. In recent years, the work of building the party bases and party members had been led and guided by the Municipal CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Committee and various echelon party committees using many positive measures. A number of party bases have manifested confidence and independence in renovating leadership contents and formulas, gradually matched these to the new management mechanism, and contributed to stabilizing the thinking and lives of the masses in the units. The majority of party members in the party organizations have exhibited good political quality and maintained a wholesome way of life, and they have gained the trust of the masses. Many comrades who have studied and trained and gained new understanding and capabilities have made progress and gradually adapted themselves to the market economy. However, in the face of the complex changes in both the domestic and international situation, the leadership role of many party bases is declining, and in some place this decline is very serious. In those places, the concept of implementing the directives and resolutions of the party and the laws of the state is weak, the ability to lead the mass organizations is poor, there is no longer any combat strength, and there is even paralysis. The average age of the party members is high, and many party members are inferior in terms of knowledge, capabilities, methods, and behavior. A fear of party work and mass work has appeared. A number of degenerate and degraded cadres and party members are making use of the loopholes in the management mechanism to enrich themselves illegally. This is doing great damage to state property and upsetting the people.

Because of the above situation, the party organization must consider renovating and reorganizing two aspects of the party: party members and party bases. But unlike previous party building movements, when efforts were concentrated just on guiding party member activities, this time Hanoi is concentrating on guiding the party bases. This is because the party base is the political nucleus that directly implements the leadership role of the party and ensures that the positions of the party and the policies and laws of the state are implemented effectively. Also, the party bases are responsible for controlling and monitoring the administrative apparatus and mass organizations in implementing democracy and fairness and implementing the economic and financial laws, income distribution laws, and social policies. If a party base has a strong leadership position, has concrete tasks and strong discipline, and its activities are orderly and disciplined, the party members will certainly have

strong capabilities and combat strength. Party members are always closely tied to the organization and so renovating and reorganizing the organization will force the party members to move in accord with the new requirements of the organization and help them to mature quickly. On the other hand, defining renovation and reorganization of the party bases as the central element is also psychologically advantageous: The party members will not view renovation and reorganization simply as examinations and purges but actually as an attempt to increase the combat strength of the entire party in order to complete the new political tasks. The party members will see that they have responsibilities to the party, and this will arouse the pride and broaden the concepts of the party members.

After six months of implementation, difficulties have been encountered and things have been confusing, but the initial results achieved show that defining the key point as discussed above is in accord with Hanoi's situation. After inspecting the guiding points (18 commercial party organizations, 13 agency party organizations, six village party organizations, five subward party organizations, and three school party organizations), the position of the primary-level party organizations has been clearly established. Their leadership role has been concretized through clear tasks. The party members and masses believe that with this momentum, the leadership position of the party bases will be elevated and strengthened. Mass organizations have been launched. For example, the Hanoi Thread Federation has launched a movement to exceed the norms in the state plan, Dong Anh District has launched a movement to pay the agricultural taxes, and Thanh Liet Village has launched a village safety and beautification movement. The ranks of party members have been purified in a self-conscious, reasonable, and kind manner. Analyzing the targets, steps, methods, and initial results of party renovation and reorganization in Hanoi, we can draw a number of useful lessons.

II. Initial lessons

1. Renovating studying the resolutions:

Initially, a number of bases organized to study the resolution of the third plenum of the Central Committee based on the old style, that is, the party committee echelons gave lectures on the resolution (to be more accurate, they simply read the resolution), and the party members sat and listened. Several places renovated things somewhat and invited instructors from the city and central echelon to come speak. That study method was very formal and took a lot of time, and the results were limited. The party members remained passive and did not understand the basic contents of the resolution. They remembered only the profound incidents related by the instructors.

The standing committee of the Municipal CPV Committee promptly corrected that study method and required the instructors to study things carefully, have a

thorough understanding of the basic spirit of the resolution of the Central Committee, and understand the contents of party renovation and reorganization as put forth in the city's program. When communicating something, they had to tie that to a specific situation of the party organization and concentrate on the key elements in order to emphasize and analyze things such as the leadership role of the party organizations, the leadership functions and tasks of the party organizations, the standards of secretaries and party committee echelons, the operational contents of the party committee echelons and party chapters, and the requirements imposed on party members in the new situation.

When discussing things at the party chapters, the party committee echelons tried to get each party member to relate those basic contents to the situation of their base. The committee echelons analyzed things in detail so that the party members would understand the requirements of this movement to renovate and reorganize the party.

The Municipal CPV Committee has given attention to disseminating the resolution to the key cadres from the city on down. The standing committee has directly disseminated things to the ward and district party committee echelons and to the committees and sectors and required these targets to gain a deep understanding of the resolution of the Central Committee and the action program of the city.

2. Correctly determining the key points, understanding the targets, formulating concrete programs, concentrating efforts on guiding and coordinating things in a synchronized manner, and achieving success from the very beginning:

In the program to renovate and reorganize the party bases, the Hanoi Party Organization clearly stated that the main themes and measures consist of seven points: defining the role and the party bases, defining the tasks of the party bases, improving the capabilities and combat strength of the party members, solidifying and improving the quality of the primary-level party committee echelon, improving the quality of party activities and building strong primary-level organizations, reorganizing the party bases, and increasing the responsibility of higher-echelon organizations.

In conjunction with this program is a development plan consisting of three requirements: The first is to study and understand the resolution of the Central Committee and to understand the targets, contents, and measures concerning renovating and reorganizing the party bases of the city. The second is to link renovating and reorganizing the party to solidifying and manifesting the control and management of the authorities and the activities of the primary-level mass organizations, taking firm steps forward, developing the economy and society, improving the people's standard of living, and maintaining political stability and social order. The third is to closely coordinate self-criticism and criticism within the party with launching the masses to participate in party

building, dealing resolutely with party members who commit violations, replacing inferior cadres, and recruiting good people into the party.

The plan has been divided into two steps. The first step, which will conclude at the end of 1992, is to conduct tests. The second step, which will conclude at the end of 1993, is to develop all the bases. Each step has concrete work guidelines and contents from the city to the villages, hamlets, agencies, enterprises, and streets. The work of assigning responsibilities in the standing committees from the city to the wards and districts has been concretized. The party committees are no longer being given blank checks as in the past. The Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee is requiring that the deputy heads of the municipal boards, sectors, and services participate. They are responsible for participating above all at the base where they work, and they must take on additional work as assigned by the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee.

A very basic task is to review and evaluate the situation at the party bases. Only by voicing the strengths and weaknesses of your organization and party members will you know what needs to be renovated and reorganized and what needs to be exploited. Formulating leadership tasks at each party base is a very difficult task. But this is decisive with respect to the leadership position and role and operating contents of the primary-level organizations. Thus, the party committee echelons have concentrated their efforts on these two key elements. Many party committee echelons have resolutely done things over and over again in order to formulate concrete leadership themes for the party organizations at their base.

Based on clearly defining the leadership tasks of the primary-level organizations, reorganizing the organizational network from the party cells to the party chapters and party organizations, and reorganizing the ranks of party members and cadres based on the requirement that all party members must have work, the party organizations and party members have the strength to bear the burden and complete the tasks.

Party members must be reviewed seriously and honestly without making threats. Each party member must self-consciously evaluate his capabilities and qualities and choose his own tasks. Elderly and infirm party members and those with limited standards but who have good quality can ask the organization that they be relieved of their work, but their honor as party members will remain intact. Because of grasping the requirements concerning party members in the new situation, many party committee echelons have done a good job in classifying party members and implemented appropriate measures for each type of party member.

A number of lessons have been learned in selecting points and guiding the points during Hanoi's first step. The Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee has directly guided things at three bases, and the

ward and district standing committees have directly guided a number of bases chosen by the committee echelons. Comrades have been assigned the task of monitoring the points and helping them develop the following: studying the resolutions, formulating plans, reviewing and evaluating things, formulating leadership tasks, organizing the organizations, cadres, and party members, and so on. But efforts have been concentrated on three things: evaluating, reviewing, and formulating leadership tasks. The spirit in guiding the points is to show the bases their strengths and weaknesses and point out what needs to be renovated and reorganized. Each week, the experiences at the points and at the various echelon standing committees are reviewed.

Coordinating things in a synchronized manner is a very important requirement. Along with renovating and reorganizing the party bases, the people's council and the municipal people's committee have promptly promulgated regulations on the activities of the village and subward authorities, issued stipulations on procedures and policies on cadres engaged in party, administration, and mass organization work in the subwards and villages, and put forth additional measures and procedures for aiding retired cadres and personnel based on Decision 111 of the former Council of Ministers. Many specialized services (such as industry, construction, and trade) have examined and evaluated their commercial activities, reorganized things, and formulated plans to renovate and reorganize each of the enterprises that they manage. Many ministries have coordinated things closely with the Municipal CPV Committee and with the ward and district CPV committees in order to provide help and enable their bases located in Hanoi to do a good job in renovating and reorganizing things. Typical models are the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Construction, and the Ministry of Education and Training.

3. The bases are active and creative, but timely help from higher echelons is very important:

In making preparations to carry on renovation and reorganization, many bases such as the thread federation and Duc Tu Village in Dong Anh District, Thach Ban Village in Gia Lam District, and Cua Dong Subward in Hoan Kiem Ward have actively investigated the situation of the party organizations, authorities, and mass organizations at their bases. They have actively solved some of the chronic problems at the bases, decided what things needed to be renovated and reorganized, and selected appropriate methods.

But there aren't enough such bases. Moreover, even at those bases that used to be strong, there has been much confusion in carrying on renovation and reorganization this time. Realizing this, the ward, district, and municipal party committee echelons have provided timely help. The timely and positive help of higher echelons is manifested by the fact that they have monitored the bases closely and made correct decisions when bases have been uncertain about what to do or how to do

something. For example, at commercial installations where the party committee secretary is just the head of the defense office, how can he have sufficient strength to lead things? There are enterprises at which the workers have not had any work for three years. There are bases that have not organized a congress for three-four years. There are bases that have held two-three congresses but that still haven't elected a secretary. Those bases need guidance. The resolute attitude of the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee and ward and district party committees in ending the confusion at each base has given confidence and strength to the party committee echelons there. The Municipal CPV Committee has stipulated that the weak units must hold a congress by the specified date if they are to participate in the movement. Strong places are to carry on renovation and reorganization and then hold a congress. The Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee has constantly reminded the party committee echelons and cadres on the technical committees that they must invest in the bases, from data to guidance cadres. This phase, the Municipal CPV Committee is striving to provide adequate data to the bases on the party base renovation and reorganization program and on the stipulations of the Central Committee on the activities of the various types of party bases.

Hanoi has not established a guidance committee this time. Instead, it feels that this is the responsibility of the various-echelon party committee collectives, the municipal party committee comrades who have been assigned tasks, and the district party committees that are guiding and carrying on renovation and reorganization at the bases. The Municipal CPV Committee has entrusted the organization committees with the task of guiding and managing the technical cadres at the bases and set deadlines for sending progress reports and reports on the problems that need to be solved to the Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee. This is a streamlined way of doing things that does not require a cumbersome apparatus, and the tasks can still be carried out well.

4. The role of the party committee echelons in the movement:

One of the conclusions drawn from the test units is that if the party committee echelon is strong and can fulfill its role and carry out the tasks of the primary-level organization and if it is at least as intelligent as those in charge of the unit, the position of the party organization there will be elevated and it have a real leadership effect. If the party committee echelon is weak, it will be impossible to effectively renovate and reorganize the party organization at its base. For this reason, when it launched this party renovation and reorganization campaign, Hanoi gave much attention to the primary-level party committee echelon. The Municipal CPV Committee examined all the key cadres from the city to the bases. If a party committee echelon was weak, it had to be replaced, even if its term had not yet expired, and it had to be replaced quickly so that the committee would have the

strength to lead the base in the movement. (Fortunately, there were not very many of these.)

Hanoi's motto in building primary-level party committees this time is relatively bold. It has resolutely prohibited cadres with weak technical abilities or cadres in poor health from participating in party work. Conversely, it has not put cadres and party members with a poor party spirit in charge of technical work. Based on maintaining the standards, the head of a unit can be elected party committee secretary. Higher-echelon party committee are responsible, along with the bases, for preparing the committee echelon staff and secretary for the bases.

In order to enable the primary-level party organizations to operate effectively, Hanoi has unified the operating expenses of the primary-level party organizations, and the procedures of the full-time party cadres are handled by the general budget of the unit.

Along with successfully completing the 1992 economic and social development tasks, the initial step of the party renovation and reorganization campaign in Hanoi has been basically completed. The Hanoi party organization is actively making preparations to move on to the next stage. The party organization is carrying on self-criticism and criticism at each party committee echelon, continuing to improve and reorganize the primary-level organizations, evaluating and reorganizing the cadre apparatus, sorting the party members, and developing new party members. It is believed that by doing things in a serious way, focusing on the key points, and taking appropriate steps, party renovation and reorganization in Hanoi will achieve many good results and provide us with many more useful lessons.

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[Article by Phuong Hanh; not translated]

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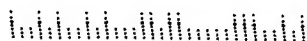
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